

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-30

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S E C R E T GENEVA 4777

EXDIS

FROM BUFFUM

1. FOLLOWING IS MERELY ADVANCE INDICATION OF PROBABLE SCENARIO LATER TODAY. INFOR BASED ON MY TALKS WITH CALLAGHAN DURING LONDON-GENEVA FLIGHT. HE KINDLY INCLUDED ME IN ALL STRATEGY DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS OWN STAFF THROUGHOUT TRIP. WE WILL HAVE FURTHER TALKS LATER THIS AFTERNOON,

2. PLAN AS OF NOON LOCAL FOLLOWS: (A) CALLAGHAN WILL MEET FIRST WITH TURKISH DEL ABOUT 5 PM AND GREEKS ABOUT 6. LATTER APPARENTLY RESISTING TRIPARTITE MEETING TODAY BUT HE WILL TRY TO GET AT LEAST BRIEF MEETING OF ENTIRE CONFERENCE THIS EVENING. (B) PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCE ROOM WOULD BE LIMITED TO UK, GREEKS, TURKS, AND UN REP (GUYER). US WILL NOT BE PRESENT AT FORMAL MEETINGS, BUT CALLAGHAN ASSURED ME WE WILL BE FULLY AND PROMPTLY INFORMED. NO IMMEDIATE CYPRIOT PARTICIPATION ENVISAGED ALTHOUGH UK DOES NOT RULE IT OUT LATER ON. CALLAGHAN OBVIOUSLY AND CORRECTLY PREFERS NOT TO FACE THIS ISSUE UNTIL FORCED TO DO SO. HOWEVER, UK WILL TELL TURKS AND GREEKS THERE IS NO PROBLEM IN THEIR INCLUDING CYPRIOTS AS MEMBERS OF THEIR DELEGATIONS. (C) UK WILL URGE FIRST OBJECTIVE OF CONFERENCE SHOULD BE AGREEMENT ON RESPECT FOR CEASEFIRE AND MILITARY STANDSTILL (THIS

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IS IN RESPONSE TO THEIR LATEST INFO TURKISH ARMY STILL SPREADING OUT

FROM EXISTING POSITIONS TO IMPROVE POSTURE FOR LONG HAUL).

3. UK THEN HOPES TO GET UNFICYP EVALUATION OF WHERE LOGICAL DEMARCATION LINES ARE AND HOW MANY MEN UN WILL NEED TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE BUFFER BETWEEN TURKISH ARMY AND CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD. (IT WAS RECOGNIZED MORE DEFINITIVE JUDGMENT ON WHAT CAN BE DONE TO CONTROL AND IMPROVE SECURITY SITUATION THROUGHOUT ISLAND BETWEEN GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES IS VERY DIFFICULT TO ASSESS. UK MILITARY ADVISERS ON PLANE THOUGHT WALDHEIM'S FIGURE OF 5,000 MAN FORCE TOO LOW BUT WILL CHECK WITH THEIR MILITARY COLLEAGUES ON CYPRUS FOR BETTER READING). QUESTION OF CONTROLLING RESUPPLY AND REINFORCEMENT SHOULD ALSO BE REVIEWED WITH PRESUMPTION SUBSTANTIAL UN SUPERVISION WILL BE REQUIRED.

4. BEYOND THAT, CALLAGHAN UNSURE HOW TO TACKLE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES.

I SUGGESTED UNTIL WE KNOW FOR SURE WHAT CYPRIOT LEADERS WE WILL BE DEALING WITH WE SHOULD STAY FLEXIBLE. ALL HIS ADVISERS CONCURRED FULLY,

BUT CALLAGHAN OBVIOUSLY WOULD LIKE TO GET A NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK ESTABLISHED AT OPENING PHASE OF TALKS FOR ONGOING CONSIDERATION OF POLITICAL FUTURE OF CYPRUS ONCE CEASEFIRE ISSUES SETTLED. CONSENSUS OF UK GROUP WAS THAT HOWEVER THE EFFORT IS APPROACHED, BASIS SHOULD BE THAT 1960 CONSTITUTION IS STILL VALID; PROBLEM IS ONE OF AGREED AND FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING PROVISIONS RATHER THAN WRITING NEW ONE.

5. UNDERSECRETARY WIGGINS (AN OLD PERSONAL FRIEND) POINTED OUT TO CALLAGHAN THAT THIS WHOLE CRISIS CAN BE TRACED BACK ULTIMATELY TO MAKARIOS' FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO THE CONSTITUTION. CALLAGHAN RETORTED THAT WHILE HE AGREED, HE DID NOT SUPPOSE ANYONE WOULD EXPECT HIM TO SAY THAT PUBLICLY.

6. CALLAGHAN IS SHOOTING FOR CONCLUSION OF DISCUSSION OF CEASEFIRE PHASE BY SATURDAY, HOPEFULLY WITH AGREEMENT ON CONTINUING WORKING-LEVEL MACHINERY WHILE FOREIGN MINISTERS RETIRE TO CAPITALS FOR FURTHER

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REFLECTION.

7. IF FOREGOING SLIGHTLY DIFFUSE, IT IS BECAUSE UK POLICY LITERALLY BEING MADE ON THE FLY.

8. I WILL SEE CALLAGHAN ALONE AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON BEFORE HE SEES GREEKS AND TURKS, AND WILL SEEK APPOINTMENTS WITH LATTER TWO DELEGATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER CALLAGHAN DOES. ABRAMS

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